Community rice and cocoa projects

In 1948, the Christian Co-operative Movement was formed by Father Clint of the Anglican Mission at Gona. The movement spread spontaneously throughout the Orokaiva country, though most of the co-operatives were only nominally linked to the mission.(1) The main activity of the co-operatives was the growing of rice, but some grew subsistence foods also, and others made copra. Although the movement was referred to as a co-operative, its agricultural activities were in most cases communal: all participants were supposed to work at the same time and to undertake whatever work was allotted to them by the group leaders, and the benefits derived were to have been shared equally. Moreover, at least some villages required all resident adult males to participate in the scheme.

In most instances the village worked as the unit of production, but in some cases several neighbouring villages worked together. Some large villages were divided into one or more groups for the purpose of the community rice garden. Each group had a committee of management and a chairman.

In general Monday and Tuesday of each week were set aside for work on the community gardens. Official patrol reports noted that the movement had taken on many aspects of a cult. All stages of work were associated with an unusual amount of religious activity and the tools and buildings of the co-operatives were treated with great veneration. Keesing (1952 : 7) speaks of an "absorbing mystical context" and of rumours that Europeans would leave Papua as a result of the co-operatives. An official observer stated that the people considered "mere participation in the co-operatives would, magically or mystically, quickly raise their status in all respects to that of Europeans". Orokaiva people have pointed out to us that cash cropping projects initiated by the government had invariably failed. They felt that a mission project might be more successful. Moreover, whereas they were uncertain of the government's motives they felt the mission to be "on the side of the people", for by introducing them to co-

(1) The co-operative movement in this area is described in more detail in Dakeyne, 1963.

Chapter 2

Contact history and the development of cash cropping

121 The post-contact history of the Orokaiva and their experience with cash cropping are described at length to demonstrate the very limited interactions between the subsistence and advanced sectors of the economy. It is the particular character of these intersections which provides the framework for understanding contemporary Orokaiva involvement in commercial activities.

(a) Initial contact

177 The first recorded contact with Europeans was made in 1893 when the Governor of British New Guinea, Sir William MacGregor, and the Anglican missionary, Copland King, sailed along the coast as far as the Mambare River. It was, however, the opening of the Yodda valley goldfields in 1897 and the subsequent extension of government control by resident magistrates which brought the majority of the Orokaiva into the European orbit.

The first decade of contact was characterised by the extreme severity both of the resistance put up by the Orokaiva to miners travelling to the goldfields, and of the punitive expeditions conducted by the resident magistrates in retaliation for such attacks and for inter-tribal raids. Both Monckton and Murray refer to Orokaiva feelings of 'bitter hostility' (Murray 1912) and of their 'hating the government and their police' (Monckton, quoted in Walker 1909).

714 By 1907 the area was pacified, a road had been built from Buna
177 to the Yodda goldfields and regular markets along it supplied
178 carriers with food in exchange for tobacco, bottles and other new
[49] commodities. Shortly after, two cult movements appeared among the
[438] Orokaiva, one the Baigona movement, centring on magico-medical practices, the other a Taro cult, emphasising careful cultivation of taro and subsequent large feasts.[1] Worsley (1957:65-74) identified implicit anti-European elements in the latter and the beginnings of new organisational trends wherein cult leaders were

[1] For a full description of these cults see Williams 1928.

not necessarily leaders in the old authority structure but often people with particular experience of white rule (e.g., policemen).[1] Both cults were suppressed by the Administration although the Taro cult persisted until 1928 and possibly reappeared in the Gona-Buna area in 1941 (Worsley 1957:124), concurrent with rumours of imminent Japanese landings.

The ending of inter-tribal skirmishing, which directly affected the social roles of the sexes, also extended the physical range of interactions open to individuals and resulted in the proliferation of hamlet groups, comprising single clan-branches, i.e. a fragmentation of the main villages. Administrative efforts in this period were directed towards countering this latter process and concentrating settlements along the roads to facilitate supervision, encouraging improved building styles (particularly the erection of houses on stilts above the ground) and establishing more ordered 'line' villages built around a central square.

(b) Commencement of cash cropping

From its beginnings the mainstay of government policy was the encouragement of indigenous cash cropping. Regulations introduced in 1894 and 1903 provided for compulsory plantings of economic trees, particularly coconuts, rubber and citrus, but few were exploited commercially. Under the Native Plantations Ordinance 1918 and the Native Plantations Ordinances 1925-52, twenty-six community plantations were established in the Orokaiva area with both government and villagers participating.[2] Cocoa, coffee, oil palm, cotton, tobacco and rice were all tried; however, owing to a fall in prices, all but coffee were abandoned. According to Crocombe (1964:16), there was no enthusiasm among the people for the scheme as they considered the cash returns inadequate: each man was required to work sixty full days per year and returns varied from less than $1 to $8 per year, which was well below the returns from working on European plantations at that time. Some 10,000 trees, predominantly coconut, were planted in 1914-15 in the Orokaiva area and by 1921 it was estimated that there were 46,404 coconut trees in the Northern Division and some 7,000 rubber trees (mostly in the Awala area). The planting of coffee commenced in 1923 and by 1936 there were

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1 Such a development may well also have been characterised by the building up of more extensive group solidarities. Burridge (1960:25) does suggest, however, that the Taro cult may have been a particular expression of a similar type of cult occurring in the pre-contact era.

2 Proceeds deriving from the sale of the crops were shared on a 50-50 basis. For a detailed treatment of these communal plantings see Crocombe 1964.

156 477 554 [614] [794] [631]

Community leadership

Three of the four entrepreneurs are eldest sons and two of them are heads of sub-clans. The third expects to be when the present holder, his father's younger brother, dies. All four have or had elective status in the community, in religious, political or economic institutions. Three of the four are or have been church councillors,[1] two have been local government councillors,[2] and three directors of the Orokaiva Coffee Growers' Co-operative. The extensive time these men give to community leadership (an average of 7.6 hours weekly) contrasts strongly with that of Inonda and Sivepe villagers (0.5 hours).

While the others seem to have been willing to accept leadership roles among villagers, D has declined nomination as a councillor and several other roles and has less contact with village society. This is perhaps due to his being a stranger to this area.

A, B and C claim to have gone to considerable trouble to encourage the people of surrounding villages to engage in cash-cropping. In B's case at least there is clear evidence that this is so. Apart from active encouragement, their enterprises could be expected to have had significant demonstration effects. The fact that villages adjacent to those of the two longest established entrepreneurs, A and B, have a higher number of trees per man than other villages in the census division supports this suggestion.

Demonstration effects, however, appear to be less in the entrepreneur's own village, where he is in all cases envied and resented by many. My impression from living among the Orokaiva is that the prestige of the entrepreneurs increases as one gets further away in a radius of five miles or so (perhaps ten in the case of B) and decreases again thereafter. A and B in particular often accommodate strangers on long journeys on foot, and B has for many years had a special house which is available to any foot traveller. Distant villagers, returning labourers, children going to and from boarding school and others from up to fifty miles away stay overnight at B's house. No charge is made, no gift expected or usually given. In fact B, who is widely acclaimed for his hospitality to strangers, usually supplies them with vegetable foods. [594]

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[1] Elected annually, usually one per village. A retired in favour of his eldest son and B retired when the refugees from the Mount Lamington villages (who had elected him) left their temporary settlement near B's coffee plot. He was asked by the village to be their church councillor but declined as he lived outside the village and the role of councillor ideally requires constant attendance in the village.

[2] Elected triennially. Each represents several villages. A retired owing to age. B was defeated.

628 Kohorita), there should be a great many linkages between individuals, and there should be no major dissension, between the villages, for the time being.

I have already mentioned that each village has its own range of "closely allied" settlements: the Sivepe people would always mention Garombi and Binduta, while some families would also mention Sasembata, Kongohambo and Torogota; nobody would ever mention Isoge. But in Garombi and Binduta, Isoge was classified as a "closely allied" village. It was the same in Inonda, which mentioned Ajoro and Husou, while Ajoro mentioned Inonda and Hohota (see Map VIII).[A]

It is not easy to find a single criterion by which a village may be classified as "closely allied." One approach might be to count the number of informants who have close consanguines and/or affines in the village under consideration. On that basis (see Table 9) the ten "closest" villages to Sivepe would be: Sasembata, Garombi, Awala, Hamburata, Korogombata (i.e., Binduta), Hojane, Binduta, Isivita, Togahou and Soroputa. How these are not anything like the ten villages geographically closest to Sivepe. Togahou and Isivita are both situated outside the Waseta tribal district as defined by Williams. The list does not include Kongohambo which is less than one mile from the present site of Sivepe village.

On the other hand, if frequency of social contacts be a measure, the number of contacts with another village is determined to a large extent by geographical distance. Though only three Sivepe informants had first or second degree consanguines in Kongohambo, and only one Sivepe girl, to my knowledge, was married in Kongohambo, there were more distant links which were assiduously maintained and the closer links led to far more visits than, for instance, the links with Togahou, which was 15 miles away.

628 If we compare the contacts between "closely allied" villages
731 as between 1951 and 1967, the most striking difference is the effect of newly formed organizational units in which certain villages are administratively grouped together. Before the eruption, there was a great deal of contact between persons in these villages, through individual kinship and friendship links, but collective
[582] contacts remained confined to feasts, deaths and the settlement of quarrels. Individual contacts, presumably, were as frequent then as they are now, as it is characteristic of the "closely allied" villages that marriages were regularly contracted between them, so that most people would have some affinal or maternal kin in the allied village.

628 After the eruption, however, several modern organizations of
631 a range wider than the village were set up under Australian influence.
731 The building and maintaining of the Sasembata mission station, and the holding of regular Sunday services there, led to regular institutionalized cooperation between the villages. The men built
[794] the school and the hospital together, the children went to school
[797] together, the people worshipped and attended church festivals

A [See Cat. 116, p. End Map 7--Analyst]
B [See Cat. 116, p. 214--Analyst]

628 together, the church council, with representatives from all the
631 villages, deliberated together. This cooperation was a gradual
731 development occurring over the years under consideration; it will be traced in detail in a later chapter. The setting up of wards under the Higaturu Local Government Council led to further occasions
[194] for formal cooperation between villages belonging to the same ward.
[197] It was characteristic of both the church and the government council organizations that they divided the Sasembata district into areas with definite boundaries, each area comprising several villages. The church recognized two such divisions, the government council three. I have already emphasized that the idea of such boundaries
[192] was a novel one (see Map IX).[2] It is beginning to have two kinds of effect: first, the strengthening of bonds between villages within the same ward or the same section of a mission parish (e.g., bonds between Sivepe and Isoge, which up to now have not been closely allied) and secondly, the loosening of bonds between villages divided by the boundaries which are now being defined (e.g., bonds between Sivepe and Kongohambo, hitherto closely allied, but now separated by administrative procedures).

628 These generalizations will be documented below; my task at
423 present is to consider contacts between Sivepe and closely allied
578 villages arising out of the eruption and relocation. Here inter-village cooperation was a far less significant factor than inter-village competition, especially for use of the land. One of the deep anxieties of the Orokaiva in the refugee camps and later in resettlement villages such as Irihambo, Awala, Kongohambo was that if the people did not return to their land, some others might decide to occupy it and it might be impossible to dislodge them. This was a very real danger because neither in 1951 nor at present is there in existence a land register from which the ownership of individual or village parcels may be unequivocally established. The Orokaiva plant boundary trees round their blocks of land and
[685] there is a taboo on interfering with these. This is not merely a supernatural taboo; interference with a boundary justifies a killing. It is far less clear, however, just what rights a person holds in a particular parcel. As this is a crucial issue in the whole history of Orokaiva resettlement, I should explain this in some detail.

423 Crocombe and Hogbin provide an excellent example of the
613 ambiguity of Orokaiva land rights. After wars with the Sangara, both the Andiriha and the Tandai'undi clans were driven from their villages and settled down together in a village named Sambogo.
[621] Later, some of the Andiriha set up Inonda on land to which the Tandai'undi had superior rights. At present, this land is used by Andiriha, and upon inquiring into the legal basis of tenure I was given the following explanation. Two daughters of the Tandai'undi owner's lineage married into Andiriha and were given the Inonda
[428] land to "look after." As is usual among Orokaiva, this right to

A [See Cat. 116, p. End Map 8--Analyst]

Section 3: Other Contacts Within the Sasembata District

628 As soon as we move beyond the closely allied villages, there is a sharp distinction between the behaviour appropriate with kinsmen or regular partners and friends resident in those villages, and the far more cautious and formal behaviour appropriate when dealing with all others. There are far fewer transactions between Sivepe and Isoge or Kendata than with Garoubi or Kongohambo, and other close villages. But I believe that the frequency of such contacts fluctuates according to contingencies. For instance, Isoge and Sivepe are now expected to cooperate in both church and [178] local government council activities. This is definitely a somewhat novel experience. One clear example can be given of the changes in attitude this has produced over the last 16 years.

When the Sasembata mission station was built in 1952-1953, 797 all the villages contained in the parish collaborated. Miss White's 794 diaries show how this cooperation was organised. Miss White, who 629 was in charge of the station, arranged with leaders from each of the villages what tasks they would be responsible for. For instance, the nearby Sasembata village would build the teacher's house, Garoubi and Isoge would finish the hospital ward, Sivepe and Binduta would pull down the old pre-eruption Standard 1-3 classroom building, Duve and Totogota would finish the standard 4 building, Kongohambo build another schoolroom while Hamburata would cut and saw the wood for the desks. (28 December, 1952) Evidently, each group would work one day a week--and each group on a different day, as I understand.

653 The hospital building was duly finished in bush materials and in 1966, while I was in the field, the time had come to pull 628 it down and renew it. The Australian teacher in charge of the station was unable to organise this work. There was, however, a [759] Papuan medical assistant in charge of the hospital who was efficient and popular. On the occasion he treated the sore leg of a Sasembata man who was a carpenter. The man offered to build the assistant a "house," i.e., a hospital. He collected 20 men from Isoge, Garoubi, Sivepe, Binduta, Hamburata and his own village. Together they built the hospital in a few weeks, working together every day. Often there were more than 20. When it was finished, he did not think it was strong enough. It was pulled down and rebuilt with more substantial studs.

The main difference between the building programmes of 1952 and 1966 lies in the manner in which the work was organised. In 1952, the largest effective cooperating group was the village. The mission was able to draw on the services of several villages, but only if they worked separately. In 1966, an Orokaiva builder, drawn from one village, was able to control and lead the work of a group recruited from all the villages of the Northwestern half of the parish acting as a coordinated team.

628 Similar cooperation occurred in other specific tasks such as the organising of a dance at Saiho hospital, the marking off of ward boundaries, etc. The groups cooperating in this manner had no history of multi-village economic organisation; this was an innovation. There was, however, a long history of military alliances, kinship and friendship links and feasting relations between contiguous villages. I collected the kindreds, up to two degrees removed, of [124] 31 Sivepe informants, recording the birth place of each member. I found that the list of natal villages included 76 situated more than one mile from the site of New Sivepe, the great majority being situated in the area within a three mile radius. But strictly speaking, these were not consanguineal links between villages as the consanguineal networks of the various families differed considerably in location. Table 9 shows just how individual these networks were but it also shows that there were 10 villages where more than 10% of Sivepe informants have consanguineal links: these are places with which relations have always been very close as periodic contact was maintained with all these consanguines; meeting them less than once a year would not be quite right. [794] Today, meetings are much more frequent, as they tend to occur at the Sunday church services.

Section 4: Other Contacts with the Waseta "Tribe"

While contacts with people from within the Sasembata district are far more frequent than contacts outside it, there are only few families who do not have some kindred, with whom they can trace connection in the patri- or matrilipe, resident outside the Sasembata district. Considering that this district comprises an area of no more than some 20-25 square miles, such connections will occasion no surprise. I was struck, in fact, by the relatively small number of these connections--a full statistical analysis of the kindreds collected has not yet been completed, so that I cannot give statistics. They were with a relatively small number of villages, almost all from the district Williams marked as belonging to the Waseta tribe. Even the connections with these few villages have special explanations: incidents of warfare explain the present links with the Isivita villages and with Togahou. The links with Soroputa and Agenahambo are explained by the resettlement of these two villages which previously were situated much closer to Sivepe--their land actually adjoins Sivepe land. The close link with Awala (three miles from Sivepe) also has a special explanation beyond [438] common clanship: Sivepe people were dependent upon Awala clay [323] for the manufacture of pottery, an essential commodity until after the second world war. I have listed a few more villages which are "Waseta" but not "Sasembata," such as Waseta, Koropata, Ilimo, but these are mentioned only once or twice.

A [See Cat. 116, p. 214--Analyst]

797 this lineage was the village constable. Though the records are by no means satisfactory, it is clear that between 1955 and 1963, virtually the whole of the Jegase clan became baptised while in 1963--but only then--the majority of the Seho clan became Christian. The time lag between the clans was not insignificant, as the head of the Seho clan, who refused to be baptised, died in 1963, and it was after his death that the new leader, his son, joined the Church, together with his clansmen. It would be wrong, however, to suggest that it was only the death of the old leader which delayed conversion, because the records for the Sasembata district as a whole show 1962 and 1963 as the years that Christianity became the dominant religion in these villages. Before 1963, the pattern seems to have been similar to the present one in Inonda: one clan or faction was baptised, while the [794] other held out. It was told that it was the old men with a reputation for black magic who felt most disinclined to abandon Paganism, as they feared it would harm their powers.

731 I shall delay a general discussion on the Church until a later
797 Chapter and confine myself here to a discussion of the impact on community organisation. Undoubtedly, the eruption accelerated the development of some of the Anglican mission stations. While before 1951, the mission in that district was centralised in Sangara, the new centre was in Popondetta, well away from the populous area around the mountain. The major station still operating in the Mount Lamington area was the one at Waseta. In 1951, major stations were established at Sasembata, Agenahambo and Irihambo, while the Hohorita and Isivita stations which followed later completed the coverage. One impetus to the support given to the Sasembata station by the people was undoubtedly the active programme of the church during the evacuation period, when there were daily church services as well as church participation in the education and health field.

871 One feature that became established during the evacuation period
731 was regular schooling for the young. The extent to which the people
177 recognised this as a momentous change in community life is shown by a ritual introduced about that time and still observed at the present. In 1967, the head teacher announced that school would start on a Thursday but no pupils came. The people told him the children were not [852] "ready." The following Sunday, all the children--and only the children--gathered for a "feast"--a common evening meal at which they were obsequiously served by the adults. This was a feast to farewell them, I was told, for the next day they would go away to the school. The measured distance between the village ground and the school ground was six chains. The children were home every night and every lunch hour. Nonetheless, in a more essential sense they were leaving the village to submit to the influence of strangers.

794 When Sasembata station was reopened in 1951, no community organisation was associated with the church so that the mission teachers had to make contact with villages for any work they wanted done and this was arranged on an ad-hoc basis. Nowadays, there are two forms of

794 organised contact. After each Sunday service, a meeting of the church council is held at the church, presided over by the pastor, at which the needs of the parish are discussed. The pastor may also call [431] meetings during the week. No payment is ever made for work done for the church, but the pastor has on occasion made a small distribution of tobacco, at which the people were very pleased. Much of the burden falls on the member of the church council for each of the villages. [623] While the after-service meetings at the church are open to all church members, the council has its own meetings and the member for the village has an especially close relationship with the church. It is he who calls together the people in the morning when building work is to be done, or who makes other announcements, in the usual way by standing in front of his house in the evening and speaking in the dark, heard by everyone in the houses.

614 This man belongs to the plant emblem group baptised in the early 613 1950's, but interestingly enough he did not, like most of the early 794 converts belong to the Jegase clan. Plant emblem groups (or lineages) are not necessarily segments of a clan and in this case the sasaha plant emblem group includes a few Seho people, who were baptised with the rest of their lineage. It was one of these Seho men who was chosen as church councillor, the choice being reportedly made by the [224] pastor himself. Shortly before my arrival in Sivepe, this man was given the office of hunting expert. Previous to this, every clan had had its own hunting expert, but now this church council member was the only one. The task of the hunting expert is the performance of magic prior to a collective hunt, decision of the time and place and the privilege of being the first man who enters the bush, together with his wife, for hunting. "What kind of magic does Dunstan perform?" I inquired. He invites the pastor down to the village and the pastor blesses the guns and other appurtenances of the hunt, while the old magic is no longer performed. In the neighbouring village of Sasembata, I found that this innovation had not been adopted.

794 In Inonda, all religious organisation was in the hands of the 184 transport driver and one-time councillor, who played the role of lay-preacher on Sundays, using as a chapel a building originally intended for the storage of coffee. Church was attended by the Christian half of the village but I saw no Christian activities apart from the weekly service. The mission teachers and the Anglican school were located at Hohota, three miles away from Inonda. Most of the modern organisation roles noted for Sivepe were, in fact, found at Inonda but every one of them was allocated to the same man, the transport driver. He acted as "committee;" he made the kind of speeches that were made in Sivepe by the councillor and the sanitary inspector (these functionaries very rarely came to Inonda); he was middleman for the mission; he was agricultural entrepreneur and his father was the feasting leader, leaving to him the day-to-day organisation of the feast given in June, 1967. The price for this far-reaching centralisation was a lack of participation in most of the activities by at least half the population, whereas participation was far more general at Sivepe.

654 After resettlement in Awala and other villages, the government
731 made no attempt to discourage the resettled people from making contact with other villages, as long as they did not begin to reside within the area that was still restricted in May, 1951.

Section 3: Morale of the Relocated Community

731 In earlier chapters, I have already drawn attention to the
823 widespread homesickness of the evacuees and their insistence upon maintaining identification with the homeland. Undoubtedly, separation from this land compels the Orokaiva to abandon many of his customs and traditions of the past, because so many of these customs and traditions [852] arise out of association with the land. To give only one example, a ceremony thought to be necessary for the survival of a new-born child is, even now, performed in a family garden. Separation from the family [794] land makes such a ritual impossible. At Ilimo, traditional rituals were replaced to some extent by the unaccustomed frequency of Christian religious services which were always well-attended. This, however, was at no time accepted as a substitute for the old way of life.

731 Naturally, in the circumstances, people did not feel any pride
177 or satisfaction in their situation in the evacuation camps. Once they were resettled in new villages on their own land, they felt pride in the new villages and in the "new way of life" they had adopted. Sivepe [438] was proud, for instance, of having discarded its pigs. On one occasion they were bargaining to buy a pig from neighbouring Garambi which still [628] had its pigs. During the bargaining, a Garambi man taunted Sivepe about its lack of this kind of treasure. The Sivepe people haughtily called off the sale. Such pride and interest in innovation was associated with a sense of security regarding land tenure and Sivepe's status in relation to other villages. If Sivepe had not felt secure in its ideology of the "new way," there would have been dismay at Garambi's taunt about the lack of pigs. But nobody in Sivepe doubted the rightness of the choice that had been made.

575 [593] [626] [657] wife, effectively shaming the husband. Today's organisations are sponsored by the government as well as the mission. The government employs a female "welfare officer," attached to the Department of District Administration at Popondetta, who is charged with the organising and supervising of what are called women's clubs. These clubs, set up in villages, are expected to follow a set programme, designed by the welfare officer, aimed at improving village hygiene, housekeeping and craft work. The women are also encouraged to play basketball at club meetings. They learn to sew, bake scones, etc., make bark cloth for sale, are given talks on infant welfare and generally learn Australian ideas about home care. Clubs are encouraged to buy sewing machines, instructed in their use and care, shown how to cut patterns, how to launder, and so forth. Courses lasting two weeks are given periodically at the Higaturu Council building, to which a number of selected officers of local women's clubs are invited. Usually these are presidents and secretaries of clubs. They are taught the various skills to be inculcated and expected to pass on their knowledge in the village. The women are expected to persuade the men to build a meeting hall for the club. Money for the club is raised by regular dues, by the sale of bark cloth, and by the sale of cakes, scones and the like on club days. (The buying of ovens is also encouraged.) Inonda had such a club, built a club house in 1967 and had the use of a sewing machine. Kiorota had a club house, used not only by the women but also by the men when there were important visitors.

794 575 In the Sasembata district, the women's clubs became fused with their mission counterpart, the mother's union. The latter had existed from the early 1950's, and were accustomed to have prayer meetings, clean the church and the cemetery, sew for the hospital and carry out other church work usually allotted to women. The president of the mother's union was the pastor's wife, a woman of some ambition. For the convenience of the members of the mother's union, many of whom lived too faraway to attend regularly at the mission station, several branches were formed, in places such as Kendata and Puri, while the villages within easy reach (Sasembata, Sivepa, Carombi, Binduta, Kongohambo, Torogota) mostly attended the central branch. When the government founded the women's clubs, the territorial units covered by the clubs soon became identical with the areas covered by the branches of the mother's union. Furthermore, the club which included Sivepa and the mission station chose as its president the pastor's wife, as well as the same secretary, a young Sivepa woman. The two organisations thus became identical in territorial boundaries, largely identical in personnel and rather similar in some of their activities. To mention but one instance, it was natural for the club to use the mother's union sewing machine for the club sewing programme.

The membership of the mother's union, in Sivepa at least, was somewhat larger than the membership of the women's club. The younger women were all active in both. Once a month they went to mother's union, did the necessary church work, cooked a common meal, prayed

and sang hymns and gossiped. Once a week, or at least as many weeks as there was no obstacle to holding a meeting, they went to women's club, did some sewing, discussed club affairs and played basketball. The older women did not like the basketball and were not interested in the innovations that were talked about in the club. They only attended women's club on special occasions. There was a contribution of 2/- per month which was generally paid only by the younger women.

Shortly after our arrival, a conflict developed between the club and the school. The head teacher objected to the noise made by the women, who spent the mornings sewing in the clubhouse which was on the station and then played basketball on the school ground in the afternoon. He could not get the students to pay attention to the lessons on the women's club day--which at that time was regularly every Tuesday. He suggested the women should build a club house away from the station. The pastor agreed with this suggestion, much to the rage of his wife, who was club president.

The effect of this altercation was a plan to build the club house in Sivepe, the nearest village, and play basketball there. The Sivepe women were delighted, as this greatly increased their status in the club, not only vis-à-vis the other villages, but also vis-à-vis the mission women, hitherto the aristocrats. For the next two weeks after this, the women met very frequently, as the decision to build in Sivepe, though wholly agreeable to the pastor, was mortifying to his wife and jealously regarded by the women from the other villages. At these meetings it was less important what was discussed than by whom they were boycotted. The mission women continued to argue against the decision for a further fortnight, with several meetings failing through lack of attendance. Meanwhile, school boys carried the materials of the old club house from the station down to their village, and Sivepe men cleared a handsome site for the club-house and erected the posts.

The mission women now withdrew from the club and asked for their membership fees back, which they were given. It appeared that their quarrel was not so much with Sivepe but with the Sasembata village women. Most of the land used by mission teachers belonged to that village; the Sasembata women thought, with some justice, that the mission women were not sufficiently diligent in their garden work. It was customary for all school children to bring one taro to school each week and also each family brought some taro to Sunday service. This food was in part distributed among the mission teachers. The Sasembata women took the view that these gifts to teachers were necessitated only by the laziness of the teachers' wives. The latter countered this abuse with the argument I have already mentioned, viz. that it was necessary for coastal people to teach among the Orokaiva because the Orokaiva were too barbaric and ignorant to have teachers of their own.

The men soon lost interest in the building of the clubhouse. It was not easy to understand why they lost interest; when I asked them they pointed out that some of the houses in the New Sivepe had not

794 yet been completed (which was true) and that these ought to have
575 priority. The women then became impatient; after which they explained
578 to me that the women had talked to them insolently and they had told
628 them to build the house themselves (which was a male task; it would
[462] have been unthinkable that women would have dared to do it). The same men devoted most of the following two months on building the mission hospital, so that their explanation did not hold water. The most likely explanation is that the men felt disinclined to build a clubhouse that was clearly going to be a source of conflict between themselves, the mission and other villages, such as Sasembata. They probably stopped work mainly in order to see whether the conflict would blow over and when their own women started to importune them, lost no time in withdrawing. I base this explanation more on attitudes observed at the time than on explicit informants' statements which were very guarded at this early stage of my research. (All this happened in our first month in Sivepe.) Basketball and meetings meanwhile continued at Sivepe, and sewing continued quietly at the pastor's house. The club was busy making uniforms for the basketball team. The next stage of the transactions between the station and Sivepe was much more subtle.

535 About three months before our departure from Sivepe, a mission
[123] teacher told me that his wife intended to teach Sivepe women a coastal
[197] women's initiation dance called the kere. This, he suggested, would be in our honour. My wife at once expressed much interest in joining in this dance. Nothing happened, of course, during Lent but on April 1, the first week after Easter, the village fell dead silent early in the evening, everyone pretended to go to bed, the women slunk away somewhere and late at night all the women appeared dressed in white tapa cloths and tarpaulins, clearly impersonating spirits and performing a vigorous but most eerie dance, while all the men at first stayed indoors and the village remained otherwise in total silence.
[534] I even heard a flute, a highly sacred instrument which everybody continued to pretend was never played. The next evening the same performance was repeated; I then heard in conversations not intended for my ears that these dancers were the embahi (spirits). On the third day it was intimated to my wife that she might join. The "practises" (as they were now called) continued, though my wife never actually heard the flutes when she was dancing. After more than two months of almost daily practise, the kere was performed in public at the mission station, its character having been gradually transformed from a rite into a dramatic representation. Nonetheless, a careful observer could see elements of initiation ritual at all stages.

794 At all these practises, the mission teacher sat and watched
575 at the centre of the stage. His wife played the role of the teacher;
578 later, she asked an older woman, an expert from her natal village, to take over the leadership. The clearest sign of the continuing status battle was in the unending arguments on where the practises were to be held. Sivepe insisted they should be in the village but the station

794 575 578 women who had joined the group favoured another site: a small settlement very close to Sivepe and the mission station and affiliated with Sasembata village. They never suggested the "practises" should be held in the station. Indeed, although they proceeded night after night, usually from about 10:00 p.m. until well after midnight, the head teacher did not know about them almost until the end, until he drove home late one night and heard something (he did not know what) from the road. Some nights there was no practise because the two sides could not agree on a site. The men seemed to be somewhat irritated by the constant presence of a mission teacher in the village, in a conspicuous role of authority, over their own women. They countered by complaints about the "noise" which made it impossible for them to sleep. This made it easier for the Sivepe women to agree to practise in the next settlement, though they also practised near the house of one of the village dancing leaders who lived away from the complaintants and was sympathetic to the kere. In the end, the usual split did occur: the mission women did not actually dance with the group from Sivepe and Sasembata village, but pulled out and formed a second kere party together with Kongohambo women, under the leadership of the deacon's wife, who also knew this dance. Both parties performed in the final performance at the mission station.

These events definitely show the mission station as a cultural force, quite independently of the mission teachers' ecclesiastical or schoolmasterly role. Sivepe was willing to offer the mission station a certain amount of compliance, in return for the valued knowledge that was being supplied, but fought--with success--against the mission station's attempt to use to the occasion to place the village in a position of socio-political subservience.

Section 3: The Mission and Traditional Religion

771 776 177 The Orokaiva attitude to Christianity is a complex subject which I intend to treat more fully elsewhere and falls somewhat outside the concern of our present project. It is very clear that some basic notion of Christian montheism have not been accepted by the Orokaiva, such as for instance the notion of God's omnipotence. Orokaiva Christians believe in the existence of God and in His infinite power, but He is viewed as an addition to other powers, who is hostile to some of these other powers, but not necessarily to others. I was told that a person ought to give up black magic after baptism, but informants dismissed my suggestion that Christianity was also opposed to curing magic. No curing magician ever ceased practising when he was baptised.

177 [788] [775] I have referred several times to the tendency to place ancient ritual under the protection, so to speak, of the new God. Rituals connected with the taro cycle were performed at Christmas and Eastertime, perferably on the mission station. While the beliefs about the ghosts

622 624 orderly. This man, like the "committee" in Sivepe, was responsible for the disciplinary aspects of local government--law and order, hygiene, organisation of working parties. The giving of such orders was not considered "fitting" for the councillor who kept aloof and worked through the "committee" as intermediary while still making the basic decisions. This dual control was convenient when, for instance, the councillor wanted old houses rebuilt and set along a straight line determined by him, while the people were not very enthusiastic. It never became clear just whose authority was treated lightly; no doubt the leaders are waiting for some excuse, such as a feast, for pressing the urgency of renovation. The councillor was, above all, the ideologist for the New Day.

794 474 454 452 Two other formal organisations in Hohorita pursued ends likewise related to development. One of them was a church committee similar to the one at Sasembata; the second was a cooperative known as "Village Improvement" (in English) which was raising money for a purpose yet to be determined. It might be a trade store or a truck. By the time I left, this committee had accumulated almost $1,000, and the purpose then had again been changed: the intention became to invest the money under a government-sponsored scheme for village "Savings and Loan" societies which follow the principle of credit unions.

474 452 The composition of this committee was interesting: it did not include the councillor, but consisted of the head teacher at Hohorita, and a priest and a public servant both resident in Popondetta. All three belonged to the Hvreopa clan but all three were, by residence and profession, somewhat remote from the village way of life. A number of the villagers who contributed expressed for thisscheme the kind of romantic enthusiasm characteristic of many Papuan cooperative movements; it was seen as a means to raise the Papuan to the same level of power as the European. I was told that loans would be granted only for equipment of permanent value--sewing machines, house building materials, lawnmovers, coffee machines and a vague and ominous category described as "special things." There were 66 members.

521 It struck me that at Hohorita, in contrast to other places, individuals and groups were keen to engage me in protracted discussions on ideological and economic matters. It was evident that this was not a mere show and that discussions of the same sort were frequent also in my absence. It was at Hohorita that I first learned, and in the clearest terms, Orokaiva views on race relations, on the significance of the councils and cash cropping, on Africa, on the Americans. Participants in the discussion were often the educated minority which seemed to set the tone for social thought: the ex-mission teachers, ex-medical orderlies, ex-drivers, ex-shopkeepers, etc.--a total of 20 men who had to some extent mastered some Western skilled occupation, and who had chosen to return to their own village. Very often it was the chance of cash cropping that had brought them back home, for they knew that they could thus get financial security and a good life. Some

mingled more freely as a result of travel on the government roads and trails (which they have to keep in order), trading, Mission and official gatherings, and other new opportunities for interpersonal relations. One special feature of Orokaiva life in modern times is the annual burning-off of grasslands by hunting parties in order to get wild game. This has probably involved the assembly of larger groups and is one of the few activities which could induce intersettlement co-operation. The writer sensed the parallel of the crude local fires set for garden clearing and the general burning-off of grasslands to the major burning and blackening in the wake of the volcano—doubtless a mighty job of clearing to the Orokaiva eye.

Within the limits that brief characterizations of personality norms can be valid, observers seem to agree that the Orokaiva as individuals have traits congruent with the social structure that favor individuality and mobility. Even the casual visitor gets a sense of independence, alertness, self-reliance, "strong talking," dignity, restraint, imperturbability at meeting the unexpected event, and high-tension interpersonal behavior in general. This is in particularly striking contrast to such an elaborately structured society as that of Samoa, where the writer had been working shortly before. In informal groups seen around the camps and waiting at airfields for transport, women and children, far from being in the background, kept up a busy verbal exchange with the men. The Administration has considered the Orokaiva territory as perhaps the best recruiting ground for its Royal Papuan Constabulary on the basis of these personality characteristics, including ability to meet crisis conditions such as patrols may encounter.

The Orokaiva religious history is also particularly interesting here. Their traditional faith, Williams says, though in many respects vague and locally variable, concerned itself "primarily with the spirits of the dead" and their influence on the welfare of the living. Death was appraised with particular realism, although it was considered ultimately as the result of supernatural causes. Magic had a consistent place. Orokaiva country, however, has been swept in modern times by a series of new cults indicative of religious adaptability in the face of fresh experience. First to come into prominence was the *Baigona*, or "snake cult" of 1911-12, succeeded from 1914 on by the so-called "Taro cult" which in turn had undergone a series of local reformulations by the time Williams reported on it in 1924.[7] Central features of the Taro cult were association of successful taro cultivation with the ancestral spirits, approached by way of a "shaking-fit" technique of revelation, together with somewhat new types of public ritual and symbols, including fragmentary elements from Christianity. Later Belshaw and others reported that "Christian Co-operative Evangelist" societies, which were developed by the Anglican Mission among some Orokaiva converts for the cooperative growing of rice and other crops, tended to assume a somewhat parallel and absorbing mystical agriculture context. Rumors spread of "an order from the King (of England) that co-operatives

7. *Orokaiva Magic*, Part I; see also Chinnery, E. W. P. and Haddon, A. C., "Five New Religious Cults in British New Guinea," *Hibbert Journal*, 15, 3 pp. 448-463 (1917). Materials are also found in the official reports of the time.

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significance is assigned to this distinction for the purpose of stating some ideology.

Barthes (1964a) points out that in a connotative system the level of expression is "rhetoric" and the level of content is "ideology." This seems to describe the pattern accurately enough. The present explanation may be reduced to a rhetoric or moralistic vilification expressing a tribalist Waseta ideology. The rhetorical aspect is clear because in actual fact both tribes hunted on the mountain though only one was hit seriously by the disaster.

I now turn to a second explanation which deals with Orokaiva, though we have very few data on its currency among them. The explanation is contained in a report (undated but probably written shortly after the eruption) from Fred Kleekham, district agricultural officer, Popondetta, in which he describes a mission-sponsored "Christian Cooperative." This cooperative flourished among the Yega at that time where, in Kleekham's opinion, it "did indeed become a cult." Kleekham reports that members of the cult refused to have their rice hulled or bought by the government and that this was due to "some mystical element . . . involved in rice marketing." He continues:

> I think that more influential than the thought that Europeans would leave Papua as a result of cooperatives was the belief that the formation of and participation in cooperatives would—magically or mystically—in short time raise the native to the status of the European in all respects. . . . I am sure that this movement owed much to hanging of Orokaivas judged responsible for the murder of missionaries and the former officer in charge of the coffee project.
>
> It is interesting to recall that one group was prepared to do *anything* under European guidance to get money. Their message was "show us how to get the money to buy the guns." Later the Lamington eruption which obliterated the government station at Higaturu was regarded by many as payback for the hangings.

There is no evidence that this explanation of the disaster was ever held by any Orokaiva. It is more than probable that this explanation is that of the Yega, who are traditional exchange partners of the Orokaiva and enemies of the Sangara. It is among the Yega that Kleekham worked, and I am inclined to believe that the Yega widely accepted the views he reported. This would fit the facts as we know them. Certainly we should not expect the Orokaiva to explain the disaster by a theory which accounts only for

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the death of the 45 Europeans on the mountain but not at all for the death of 4,000 Orokaiva and the destruction of hundreds of villages. It is far easier to understand such an explanation coming from the Yega, traditional enemies of the Sangara tribe, whose own losses through the disaster were very small. There is indeed no reason why the Yega should have been grief-stricken by the eruption at all. They were involved in an anti-European cult according to which the death of the administration personnel at Higaturu was thought nothing less than a divine blessing, while the misfortunes of the Sangara may well have been a further source of satisfaction. The Sangara survivors, who were quartered in an evacuation camp in Yega territory from February to April 1951, felt most uncomfortable there and very frightened that they too would be killed off by their old enemies through poisoning, sorcery, or other mischief.

The data do not enable us to say with certainty whether or not, in the Yega explanation, the eruption was actually caused by the anger of Sumbiripa. Benson (1955a, 1955b) describes the general atmosphere among the Yega immediately after the eruption, and from his account one gathers that the Yega, like the Orokaiva traditionalists, believed Sumbiripa was responsible, though he was credited with somewhat different motives. Kleckham is undoubtedly right that the public execution of the so-called collaborators, conducted by the Australian army in a spectacular and rather gruesome manner, caused much resentment among the various tribes of the Northern District. The Yega cooperatives of the late 1940s, described in some detail by Dakeyne (1966) and discussed in Schwimmer (1969:86–89), were led by two Anglican clergymen, Benson and Clint. They must therefore have believed that power would come to them through the intervention of the Christian God. Though the precise significance they attached to the eruption is not known, the context suggests that they must have regarded it as a sign that supernatural forces were working in their favor or at any rate against their enemies.

The metalanguage used in the Yega explanation is that of a millenarian cooperative cult, arising in response to what was regarded as oppression and commercial exploitation. The eruption established a rule that supernatural agencies punish white people who hang Papuans. In justification of the rule, there was again cogent empirical evidence. Most of the forty-five Australian victims of the

eruption met their fate on the very same spot (Higaturu) where the executions took place some years earlier.

I include the Yega explanation in this study because it influenced the total regional communication system from which the Orokaiva derive their basic concepts. What is this regional system? It is certainly not a postcontact introduction, yet it has a very different significance now as compared to the last century.

Williams (1940, n.d.) shows that the external boundaries of the human race, as defined in Orokaiva myths, take in most of the population of the Northern District of Papua but do not extend beyond the Northern District. Internal boundaries drawn in the myths separate this population into a number of mutually hostile language groups, each specializing in the production or supply of certain distinctive products. It was an integral part of Orokaiva social thought to hold that permanent peace was impossible between the groups thus separated, although a truce was occasionally established and trade and intermarriage were regular occurrences. In this respect, the Cargo Cults of the early postcontact period (the Baigona Cult in 1912 and the Taro Cult in 1914) marked a radical innovation. The chief social message, especially of the Taro Cult, was that villages and tribes hitherto divided by strife should be united in brotherhood. The cult taught that the traditional tribal boundaries should be disregarded and all Papuans of the region were one people. This idea started in the coastal region but soon spread from there to Orokaiva territory (see Chinnery and Haddon 1917; Williams 1928).

At the time of the eruption, the coastal people were again involved in a millennial movement, the Christian Cooperative, which was spreading throughout the Orokaiva tribes. While tribal boundaries were a source of anxiety in all the evacuation camps (though the anxiety was more acute among Sangara relocated on the coast than among Orokaiva relocated at Ilimo), the possibility of a further development of the Christian Cooperative was still open, and this would have involved general acceptance of the Yega explanation of the disaster.

Comparing the Orokaiva and Yega explanations, we note that the cause of the eruption in both cases is the anger of Sumbiripa, although the Yega explanation is not entirely explicit on this point. Furthermore, both explanations take a rather negative view of European power—one by ignoring it, the other by making it the ob-

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construct a higher-level system which accounts for all the explanations taken together.

Let us first survey the relationships between the explanatory systems on the social level. They do not logically contradict one another: they can be and are held simultaneously by the same people. There is no need to believe that the eruption was caused *either* by God *or* by Sumbiripa nor that the intended victims were *either* Orokaiva *or* Europeans. My informants did not seem to view God and Sumbiripa as wholly distinct. Whether one ascribed the eruption to one or the other depended on the context of the discourse. Most Orokaiva do connect the death of European public servants and army personnel at Higaturu with the hangings that occurred after the war. They believe that these Europeans acted wrongly and that God punished them. But at the same time they believe that the eruption was a sign of God's anger toward the Orokaiva who had not followed the laws of the Church of England.

One cannot, therefore, gauge the relative strength of the three ideologies by counting what proportion of a sample of Orokaiva informants subscribes to one or another of the three explanations. One can, however, evaluate the general effect of each of the three ideologies. The belief that Sumbiripa caused the eruption had only the mildest historical consequences—merely the reinforcement of a hunting taboo. The belief that the mountain erupted to punish Europeans might have become historically important if the mystical Yega cooperative movement had grown to a major millennial cult, but this did not happen. In fact, the Yega cooperatives went into a decline after 1951, owing to crop failure, the departure of its advisors, and governmental opposition in the form of economic and legal obstacles.

None of these reasons would have sufficed to kill the movement had there been, in the 1950s, a strong opposition to the administration of the Northern District. There is, however, no evidence of this. On the contrary there was, between 1951 and 1967, steadily increasing support for the ideologies advocated by government and mission. In this context the theory blaming the eruption on previous noncooperation by Orokaiva obtains some historical significance. It would be absurd to suggest that the increased support can actually be explained by the existence of the Orokaiva theory about the eruption. On the other hand, this support is now undoubtedly more powerfully motivated than if the eruption had

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171 of 5% of male population.[24]

These people were alienated by the criterion we chose because they had been working for someone who refused them what they considered their proper reward – in other words, the right to the product of their labour. At the same time, we note that the phenomenon described by Panoff was marginal: the other 95% of the male population were not alienated.

It is my impression that there are still other alienated categories in Melanesia, especially among defeated groups or clans who lost their land after a war and are reduced to the status of wanderers or, again, who remained on their land but were constantly at the mercy of marauders. When I discussed such cases, I was told by several informants from different villages independently that there were certain weak groups with whom in olden times they practised no exchanges but had only relations of warfare. Such groups evidently possessed some valued resources – not only women but also feathers and other forest products, for instance, but they lay outside the circle where moral principles applied (cf. Williams 1930).[25]

121 The theoretical importance of such cases may be far greater than their statistical importance. These are, after all, the cases projected by Hobbes in his model of the stateless society. Anthropologists have been much concerned to prove Hobbes wrong, but this concern should not blind us to that minority of situations where he may well have been right. There is not, to my knowledge, any Melanesian ideology which validates and elaborates the Hobbesian model, nor the Nietzschian model[26] that gives full weight to the principle of reciprocity while condemning it as a weakness to be transcended. But is even a Melanesian Nietzsche completely inconceivable?

Identification in the Creation of Exchange Values

461 Our discussion of the culture hero Jesus Christ was necessarily
177 incomplete. For he did not institute merely payment for labour –
a real gift to man but, as we have seen, somewhat limited in scope,
●794 but he also gave to the white man all his immeasurable wealth and power. But this wealth and power did precisely not, in the New Guineans' estimation, come to the European by his own wage labour. It came by methods New Guineans did not at once understand. This whole cargo ideology is too well documented to need restatement here, but any study of Melanesian work would be quite incomplete unless it included the category of cargo work, i.e. work to obtain cargo.

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Cargo deities are renewed for each movement; in all cases their return to earth would not only bring the wealth but also a new moral order. They would banish strife, indeed brotherhood between tribes is a condition of their return. This idea existed in the Northern Province of Papua New Guinea as early as the Taro movement of 1914 (Williams 1928). The work to be done is ritual work for which the design (*ove*) is laid down by the prophet of the cult. The form of *simbari* required here has to do with certain ritual places where the miraculous return might take place – among the Orokaiva, often graveyards. As for the cargo itself, the correct term is *hande*, i.e. generous sharing out of the treasure that has previously remained hidden from the New Guineans.

All these concepts will seem marginal until one sees their implications for everyday events. To this end, let us consider the position of money as *hande*. Most anthropologists have treated ceremonial money prestations as simply equivalent to traditional valuables. But is it really? First of all, it is common knowledge that traditional valuables are no longer acceptable as a substitute for money. This has sometimes been interpreted as a purely secular liking for money, which to a westerner seems so plausible that he does not see the need for explanation. If the money is presented as a money tree, this again can be explained away as substitution within a traditional idiom.

When I discussed savings societies, I expected to be given an explanation in terms of practical spending projects or other economic considerations but was given a political argument instead. It was to equal the power of the Europeans, so I was told. Again, a friend was presented with a dollar to be taken back with him to New Zealand. He should put it in the bank there, so he was told, and then it would multiply a thousandfold. On an apparently quite different topic, wages, I was told that the wealth created by them exceeded by far what they were given as pay.

It is for this reason that Orokaiva are exceedingly interested in 'business', both cooperative and individual. I have personally observed a copra cooperative and several trade store and truck projects, both cooperative and individual. Newton (1978), in a village close to the ones I know, describes in much detail six trade stores, four truck ventures and a cattle project, which represents a great deal of activity for one small village over a six-months period. Several of these projects were cooperative. All of them were failures. The fact that the ventures all fail does not stop people from repeating the experience year after year.

Let us now consider in detail one of the events described by